

Message Text

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PAGE 01 STATE 063123

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO AMEMBASSY NICOSIA

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 063123

EXDIS

FOLLOWING REPEAT ROME 3753 ACTION SECSTATE DTD 08 MAR

QTE

C O N F I D E N T I A L ROME 3753

EXDIS

EYES ONLY FOR HARTMAN FROM LAINGEN

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PINT, CY

SUBJECT: VISIT TO CYPRUS

1. I HAD BETTER GIVE YOU SOME IDEA OF TOTTH WHAT I WAS AND WHAT
I WAS NOT UP TO IN CYPRUS. PLUS SOME PRELIMINARY IMPRESSIONS.

2. ONE HAS TO GO THEN TO APPRECIATE THE ETHNOCENTRISM OF THE PLACE
AND THE ALMOST TOTAL PREOCCUPATION OF ITS PRESS WITH THE CYPRUS
ISSUE. MUCH IS MADE OF LITTLE. THE "LAINGEN VISIT" WAS HEADLINE
NEWS BEFORE I ARRIVED. LAINGEN HAD "A PLAN IN HIS POCKET", THE
MAIN ELEMENTS OF WHICH WRE BIZONALISM AND 25 PERCENT TURKISH
CYPRIOT AREA. THIS I SUPPOSEDLY HAD EXPLORED IN ATHENS AND
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PAGE 02 STATE 063123

ANKARA AND I WAS "PREPARING THE GROUND" FOR THE CAGLAYANGIL VISIT

TO WASHINGTON.

3. ALL THIS DESPITE THE BEST EFFORTS OF OUR EMBASSY TO EMPHASIZE THAT I WAS THERE PURELY FOR ORIENTATION PURPOSES AND TO KEEP THE VISIT AS INCONSPICUOUS AS POSSIBLE.

4. REMINDED BY YOU AND JOHN TZOUNIS IN ATHENS (WHO HAS HAD HIS OWN TROUBLE IN CYPRUS) THAT THE LESS SAID DOWN THERE THE BETTER, I TOOK THE PUBLIC LINE THAT I WAS THERE TO LOOK, LISTEN AND LEARN, THAT I HAD NO PLAN, AND THAT OUR INTEREST WAS SIMPLY THE EARLIEST POSSIBLE ACHIEVEMENT OF A JUST, PEACEFUL, AND DURABLE SETTLEMENT WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF VIENNA. (I TOOK THE SAME LINE PRIVATELY, PLUS EMPHASIZING THE POINT THAT WE HOPED ALL THE PARTIES WOULD MAKE THE AGREED VIENNA PROCESS WORK WITH SUBSTANTIVE PROPOSALS AND A POSITIVE ATTITUDE.)

5. HAPPILY ALL THE SPECULATION ABOUT ME, CRAWFORD CONFIRMS, WILL BE FORGOTTEN BY MONDAY AND THE PRESS BY THEN WILL BE LOOKING FOR OTHER STRAWS TO GRASP.

6. BILL CRAWFORD WILL BE REPORTING ON OUR CONVERSATIONS WITH THE LEADERSHIP ON BOTH SIDES PLUS THE GREEK, TURK & UN REPRESENTATIVES. ALL ENORMOUSLY USEFUL TO ME AND PRODUCTIVE OF SOME INFORMATION. BUT ALL OF WHICH LEFT ME WITH LITTLE REASON FOR OPTIMISM.

7. THOUGH THE PHYSICAL AND EMOTIONAL MEMORY OF 1974 IS LESS, THE EXTENT OF BASIC DISTRUST BETWEEN THE COMMUNITIES HAS TO BE SEEN AND HEARD TO BE BELIEVED. THE TURKISH CYPRIOTS REVEL IN WHATEVER DISCOMFITURE THEY CAN CAUSE THE GREEK CYPRIOTS, AFTER THE YEARS OF ABUSE THEY BELIEVE THEY HAVE SUFFERED. GREEK CYPRIOTS, WELL AWARE OF THIS ATTITUDE, SEE NO REASON TO CONTEMPLATE EVEN CONSIDERING THE KIND OF MODEST TERRITORIAL ADJUSTMENTS THEY EXPECT FROM THE TURK SIDE. WHEN, THEY ASK, SHOULD WE EXCHANGE AN ADMITTEDLY BAD DE FACTO SITUATION FOR ONE THAT IS DE JURE BUT POLITICALLY WORSE?

8. ONE LOOKS NONETHELESS FOR EVIDENCE OF A POLITICAL WILL TO COMPROMISE AND THERE IS LITTLE TO FIND. NEITHER SIDE SEES THE PROSPECT FOR ANYTHING POLITICALLY MORE ACCEPTABLE THAN WHAT THEY HOLD NOW. DENKTASH SAYS MAKARIOS HAS NOT ABANDONED IN ANY WAY CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 STATE 063123

THE IDEA OF THE "GREEKNESS" OF THE ISLAND; HE MAKES NO SECRET OF BEING PREPARED TO SIT TIGHT INDEFINITELY. AND IN ANY EVENT, HE SAYS, ANKARA MUST ASSUME THE ONUS FOR ANY TERRITORIAL CHANGES. THE ARCHBISHOP PROFESSES TOTAL SKEPTICISM OF ANY TURKISH WILLINGNESS TO OFFER TERRITORIAL CHANGE OF A KIND THAT WOULD MAKE IT WORTH HIS WHILE. CLERIDES THE SAME, THOUGH HE REMAINS THE ULTIMATE PRAGMATIST. BUT THE ARCHBISHOP'S COMMANDING POLITICAL STRENGTH DRAMATIZES HOW NO SETTLEMENT IS POSSIBLE WITHOUT HIM.

9. AS FOR THE OTHER TWO PARTICIPANTS, ANKARA AND ATHENS, ONLY THE LATTER SEEMS TO HAVE REACHED THE HARD DECISION THAT EACH OF THE FOUR MUST ULTIMATELY MAKE BEFORE THERE IS A SOLUTION, I.E., THAT A CONTINUED STATE OF NON-SOLUTION IS TOO COSTLY IN TERMS OF THEIR OWN PERCEIVED INTERESTS. (BRITISH AMBASSADOR RICHARDS IN ATHENS, ALSO VISITING NICOSIA, SHARES THIS JUDGMENT OF KARAMANLIS, THOUGH POINTING OUT THAT THERE IS A LIMIT IN WHAT HE CAN BEAR PLITICALLY AS WELL IF A PROPOSED SETTLEMENT IS ONE THAT MAKARIOS COULD BRAND AS "PREJUDICIAL TO HELLENISM".)

10. US AMBASSADOR DE CUELLAR (WHO REPORTS THAT AT LEAST THE CLERIDES/DENKTASH HUMANITARIAN TALKS ARE WELL LAUNCHED) OFFERED LITTLE EXCEPT TO EMPHASIZE IN ALMOST PLAINTIVE TERMS: "VIENNA WILL NOT WORK WITHOUT MASSIVE INTERNATIONAL PRESSURE":

11. ONE IS TEMPTED TO CONCLUDE THAT WE COULD AS WELL FORGET IT; THAT 25 YEARS HENCE, NOT UNLIKE KASHMIR, WHATEVER EFFORT HAS GONE INTO THE CYPRUS ISSUE IN THE WAY OF TERRITORIAL PROPOSALS AND REALISM AND ALL THE REST, THE STATUS UQO WILL HAVE BECOME REASONABLY PERMANENT AND NO ONE'S INTERESTS WILL HAVE SUFFERED ALL THAT MUCH. BUT SOUTH ASIA WAS AND IS ONE THING IN TERMS OF OUR PERCEIVED INTERESTS AND THE EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN IS SOMETHING ELSE.

12. NOT LEAST BECAUSE OF THE MOUNTING EVIDENCE TO BE SEEN AND HEARD OUT HERE OF THE ADVERSE FALLOUT OF THE CYPRUS ISSUE ON THE AEGEAN. CHICKEN AND EGG ARGUMENTS ASIDE, THE GROWING RISKS OF AEGEAN INCIDENTS SURELY HEIGHTEN AS STALEMATE THREATENS ON CYPRUS. THE GREEKS WENT WELL BEYOND POSTURING IN TELLING ME AT EVERY OPPORTUNITY THAT THEY FEAR A BASIC ATTITUDINAL CHANGE ON TURKEY'S PART IN ALL THE AEGEAN ISSUES. AGAIN, BRITISH AMBASSADOR RICHARDS STRONGLY AGREES, WHO NOTES THAT WHILE THE GREEKS ARE CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 STATE 063123

NOT WITHOUT FAULT ON THE AEGEAN, IT IS THE TURKS WHO ARE PRESSING.

13. THE WAY IN WHICH THE TURKS ARE SEEN AS THE KEY TO ALL OF THIS WAS SYMBOLIZED BY CLERIDES' VERY FIRST QUESTION TO ME: COULD WE CORROBORATE WHAT HE HAD HEARD FROM THE GERMANS IN BONN THAT THE TURKISH MILITARY WAS NOW PREPARED TO PRESS THE POLITICAL LEADERSHIP IN ANKARA TO TAKE A MORE FORTHCOMING POSTURE ON CYPRUS? I COULD GIVE HIM NO SUCH ASSURANCE BUT ONE HOPES HE IS RIGHT.

14. ALL THIS IS NOTHING NEW. BILL CRAWFORD IS POUCHING YOU SOME GOOD NEW IDEAS ON TERRITORY THAT HE AND HIS STAFF HAVE DONE. BUT IT IS NOT IDEAS IN THAT AREA THAT ARE IN SHORT SUPPLY. IT IS RATHER IN THAT WILL TO COMPROMISE ON THE PART OF EACH OF THE PARTIES ON THE BASIS OF COLDLY PERCEIVED RATIONAL INTERESTS. WE STILL HAVE NO GOOD ANSWER ON HOW THAT IS ACCOMPLISHED. VOLPE

UNQTE KISSINGER

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